

CONFIDENTIAL

CIA/BI GR 66-3  
June 1966



## Intelligence Report

# THE INDIA-PAKISTAN BORDERS

DIRECTORATE OF INTELLIGENCE

CONFIDENTIAL

**W A R N I N G**

This material contains information affecting the National Defense of the United States within the meaning of the espionage laws, Title 18, USC, Secs. 793 and 794, the transmission or revelation of which in any manner to an unauthorized person is prohibited by law.

**GROUP 1**

Excluded from automatic  
downgrading and declassification

THE INDIA - PAKISTAN BORDERS

JUNE 1966

This report was prepared in the Office of Basic Intelligence.

CONFIDENTIAL

CONTENTS

	<u>Page</u>
Summary . . . . .	1
Introduction . . . . .	2
I. Background . . . . .	2
II. India - East Pakistan Border . . . . .	3
A. West Bengal Sector . . . . .	4
B. Assam and Tripura Sectors . . . . .	5
III. India - West Pakistan Border . . . . .	6
A. Punjab and Rajasthan Sectors . . . . .	7
B. Gujarat Sector . . . . .	7
IV. Other Border-Related Problems . . . . .	9
V. Prospects for Border Settlement . . . . .	11

Table

Demarcation Status of India - Pakistan Boundaries May 1966 . . .	12
--	----

Photographs

Figure 1. Flooded countryside of the Ganges Delta . . . . .	13
Figure 2. Low but steep-sided slopes of the Chittagong Hills . .	14
Figure 3. Rocky, slightly higher land known as <u>bets</u> . . . . .	15

Map

Following Page

India - Pakistan Borders (52751) . . . . .	15
--	----

C-O-N-F-I-D-E-N-T-I-A-L

THE INDIA - PAKISTAN BORDERS

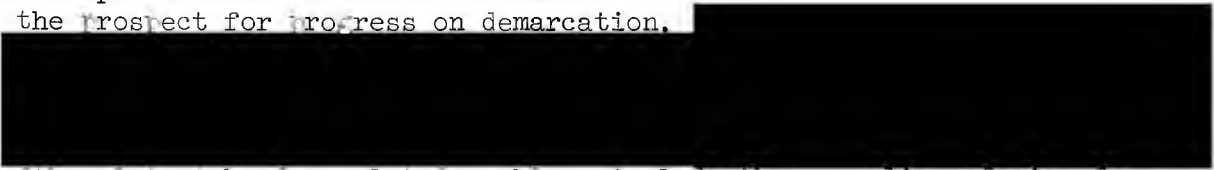
SUMMARY

Demarcation of their common boundaries has been a major problem affecting relations between India and Pakistan since the 1947 partition. Although the political climate of the moment usually has been the chief deterrent to demarcation, physical problems in marking the boundary also have been real. Large parts of the India - East Pakistan boundary traverse densely populated plains laced by streams whose courses often shift during floods, thus altering the physical landscape and dislocating settlements; in other border areas a combination of difficult terrain, dense vegetation, and isolation has hindered boundary work.

The most contentious issue in the settlement of the India - East Pakistan boundary has been the disposition of the Berubari territory and of the numerous enclaves on both sides of the West Bengal sector of the boundary. Demarcation of this part of the boundary was scheduled to begin in the fall of 1965 and to be followed by an exchange of territory, but the work was never accomplished. Other unmarked parts of the India - East Pakistan boundary include short segments in the West Bengal sector, mostly along rivers, and fairly long segments in the Assam and Tripura sectors.

In the India - West Pakistan border area the major stumbling block is the alignment of the boundary in the desolate salt marshes and wastes of the Rann of Kutch. Small military clashes in the spring of 1965 threatened to lead to war until arrangements were made for a cease-fire, the terms of which provided for a succession of diplomatic steps to assure a settlement of the dispute.

The India - Pakistan border war over Kashmir in September 1965 froze the border situation in all other sectors as of that time. Although tensions have since been reduced, the status quo of the borders remains; apparently, Pakistani insistence upon negotiations of the Kashmir question as a precondition for the settlement of other borders with India beclouds the prospect for progress on demarcation.



Other latent border-related problems include the smuggling of rice from East Pakistan to India and conflicts over the displacement of both Hindus and Muslims within East Pakistan and India.

C-O-N-F-I-D-E-N-T-I-A-L

25X6

25X6

C-O-N-F-I-D-E-N-T-I-A-L

### Introduction

One of the more persistent and exacerbating problems affecting relations between India and Pakistan has been the demarcation\* of their 3,870 miles of common boundaries -- approximately the length of the boundary between Canada and the United States, excluding Alaska (see table on page 12). Although 19 years have elapsed since partition of the Indian subcontinent, an estimated 936 miles of boundary remain unmarked.

During the past two decades, several major and many minor border disputes have arisen, resulting in the exchange of numerous diplomatic notes, the holding of border conferences, and at times fighting in border areas. Although the physical characteristics of the border area are contributing factors to border problems, the delays and disputes are symptomatic of the larger and more serious political differences that have divided India and Pakistan since the 1947 partition.

#### I. Background

The basic agreement establishing the India - Pakistan boundaries was the August 1947 award of the boundary commission headed by Sir Cyril Radcliffe. The Radcliffe Commission, meeting during the hectic summer of 1947, had only a few weeks to evaluate the widely divergent claims of Muslim and Hindu leaders and to attempt to draw an equitable line. The problem was complicated by the necessity of drawing parts of the line through the densely populated, mixed Muslim-Hindu regions of Punjab and Bengal, each possessing considerable historical, economic, and linguistic homogeneity. In retrospect, two Solomons might not have been equal to the task thrust upon Sir Cyril. The terms of the Radcliffe Award were interpreted differently, and protests arose immediately, particularly over several portions of the East Pakistan boundary. Subsequently, a three-man tribunal headed by Sweden's Algot Bagge was established to adjudicate four major disputes in the east. The so-called Bagge Awards were made in February 1950, but again interpretations differed and a number of lesser disputes arose during demarcation.

Boundary demarcation proceeded slowly -- particularly during the first decade. Part of the problem is the physical character of the land. Low-lying areas with numerous rivers and streams that flood seasonally have proved troublesome to demarcate. Also, isolated hilly areas with

\* A delimited boundary is one whose general alignment is agreed upon and described in a treaty, whereas a demarcated boundary is one physically marked on the ground with pillars or other form of markers. The alignment of a delimited boundary may change significantly during ground surveys and placement of markers. A boundary in a river or stream, which usually follows the thalweg (the deepest navigable channel), is considered to be demarcated.

C-O-N-F-I-D-E-N-T-I-A-L

C-O-N-F-I-D-E-N-T-I-A-L

heavy vegetation are so difficult to reach and to survey that they are still largely undemarcated. Other important factors include the retarding influence of local officials operating within the somnolent bureaucracies of each country and the highly charged political atmosphere in which neither country wishes to appear to accede to the demands of the other -- an attitude fanned by the hypernationalism of many officials and leaders in both nations.

In 1958 Prime Ministers Nehru and Noon met in an attempt to resolve the major boundary differences. The outcome was an agreement settling in principle the major disputes over the India - East Pakistan boundary. Additional conferences at ministerial level followed to work out specific details. The most important one, in January 1960, resulted in the Singh-Sheikh Agreement, which resolved four of the five most onerous problems concerned with demarcation of the India - West Pakistan boundary. Although this agreement speeded the work of demarcation, other disputes and complications developed in both east and west, climaxed by near open warfare in the desolate Rann of Kutch area during the spring of 1965. From this episode came agreements and procedures in the summer of 1965 that appeared to open the door for completion of most of the boundary demarcation. The India - Pakistan border war that arose in Kashmir in September 1965, however, temporarily severed all contacts between the two countries and thus once again postponed demarcation of the boundary.

## II. India - East Pakistan Border

The boundary between India and East Pakistan, 2,491 miles in length, is divided into sectors corresponding to the three Indian states it adjoins -- West Bengal, Assam, and Tripura. Approximately 619 miles remain to be demarcated, of which the densely populated West Bengal frontier sector has presented the most serious obstacles to a final settlement. Although the superheated political atmosphere since partition has tended to magnify petty differences and inhibit compromise, the physical characteristics of the frontier region also are obstacles to determination of the India - East Pakistan boundary.

Much of the West Bengal boundary sector and parts of the Assam and Tripura sectors cross the flat, poorly drained deltaic plain formed at the junction of the Ganges (termed Padma in its lower stretches) and the Brahmaputra Rivers. The delta is aptly described as consisting of old mud, new mud, and marsh. During the summer more than 60 inches of rain falls, rivers and streams frequently shift their courses, and new (char) land is formed by deposits of sand and silt and by changes in the course of the river (see Figure 1). There is a long history of local disputes and litigation over the ownership of the fertile new land, which is immediately cultivable and attractive to settlers. The establishment of an international boundary through such terrain is greatly complicated by these local problems. In contrast, rough, densely forested hill country

C-O-N-F-I-D-E-N-T-I-A-L

C-O-N-F-I-D-E-N-T-I-A-L

characterizes parts of the Assam and Tripura border sectors; physical access to the border is difficult, and tangled jungle vegetation greatly hinders local ground surveys.

A. West Bengal Sector

Of the 1,349-mile West Bengal boundary, several segments totaling slightly more than 100 miles remain undemarcated. Although river boundaries are a major problem, the most serious problem involves the disposition of almost 200 tiny enclaves in the Jalpaiguri and Cooch Behar area and the disposition of the frontier territory of Berubari located amidst the enclaves.

The enclaves are territorial anachronisms that date from 1611 when Mogul armies, then in control of most of India, attacked the Kingdom of Cooch Behar. They were created because advance elements of both Mogul and Cooch Behar armies were deep inside one another's territory when the war ended; peace terms permitted these small parcels of real estate to be held and controlled by their respective governments, a situation that continued in later years under British administration. After partition, former Cooch Behar exclaves fell within Pakistani territory while former Mogul (later British) exclaves became enclaves within India. Somewhat more than 200 enclaves existed in 1947, a figure slightly reduced at present to 123 Indian enclaves and 74 Pakistani enclaves. The total area involved is no more than 30 square miles; some enclaves are as small as an acre, and the vast majority are less than 100 acres in size. Population movements have been extensive and probably have altered the estimated 1947 enclave population of approximately 25,000 persons.

As early as 1953, difficulties in access to the enclaves and in administering them prompted an agreement for their exchange. Little progress in implementing the agreement was made, however, and the issue became ensnarled with a dispute over Berubari, a minuscule frontier strip that is held by India but claimed by Pakistan. The 1958 Nehru-Noon Agreement provided for transfer of the enclaves of both India and Pakistan and for the division of Berubari between the two nations. Berubari, however, became a West Bengal political issue and a rallying cry for ultranationalists; therefore, transfer of the enclaves was shelved until the Berubari dispute could be resolved.

The proposed division of Berubari would have shifted a mere 4 square miles of Indian territory with some 5,000 inhabitants to Pakistan, but West Bengal leaders heatedly protested that the Indian Constitution prohibited any territorial adjustments, a view later sustained by an advisory opinion of the Indian Supreme Court. Although the Indian Constitution was amended in 1962 to permit the transfer, Bengali leaders persisted with other legal moves. The final legal barrier seemingly was removed in August 1965 when the Indian Supreme Court denied an appeal by

C-O-N-F-I-D-E-N-T-I-A-L



C-O-N-F-I-D-E-N-T-I-A-L

several Berubari residents to halt the transfer, thus clearing the way for implementation of the Nehru-Noon Agreement.

The demographic composition of the enclaves has altered in recent years; reportedly, most if not all Hindus from enclaves in Pakistan have migrated to India and, similarly, Muslims from enclaves in India have migrated to East Pakistan. The Dahagram enclave in West Bengal, which is one of the largest, is an exception; here prior to 1965 about 80 percent of the 5,000 inhabitants were Muslims. A minor border crisis erupted in Dahagram in March 1965 after communal rioting, the alleged intervention of Indian police, and a subsequent Muslim exodus during which there was some bloodshed. Tensions remained high and gunfire was exchanged for several days until a cease-fire was arranged.

Problems associated with determining river boundaries account for most of the remaining undemarcated segments of the West Bengal border sector. South of Siliguri, along the Karatoya and Mahananda Rivers, a section of river boundary approximately 30 miles long is not marked. Some Indian sensitivity has resulted from the continued undemarcated status of this sector, largely because the unmarked area is adjacent to the narrow and strategically vulnerable neck of Indian territory connecting West Bengal with Assam. To the south, a dispute at Hilli reportedly has been resolved; demarcation of the 26-mile section involved was scheduled for the 1965-66 working season. Two undemarcated stretches totaling about 32 miles are located roughly between Bangaon and Satkhira. Reportedly, agreement is lacking over which tributary river is to be followed. Another obstructing factor is disagreement over whether the demarcation map should be based on a cadastral survey. Finally, recurring bases for disagreement are provided by a 78-mile section of the boundary that follows the Ganges, where great yearly floods and numerous shifts in the river's course necessitate yearly resurvey of the boundary.

#### B. Assam and Tripura Sectors

The Assam and Tripura boundary sectors total 1,142 miles, of which the Assam sector of 620 miles is divided into northern and southern sections of 445 and 175 miles, respectively, by the state of Tripura. The latter's boundary with East Pakistan is 522 miles in length. Border problems and disputes have been less serious in these two sectors than in the West Bengal sector. About 500 miles remain undemarcated, however, and numerous border incidents, including exchanges of gunfire, have filled pages of reports over the past 19 years. More serious disputes may be provoked in the future by the physical difficulties of demarcation and the volatile political atmosphere.

All but 7 miles of the northern Assam boundary section is demarcated. In most places the border either crosses low-lying plains similar to those of the West Bengal border area or follows rolling, partly forested low

C-O-N-F-I-D-E-N-T-I-A-L

C-O-N-F-I-D-E-N-T-I-A-L

hills at the base of the steep, south-facing flanks of the Shillong Plateau, 5,000 to 6,000 feet in elevation. Among the border disputes brought before the Bagge Tribunal were two concerned with the southern part of the northern Assam section. One of these disputes involved the correct identification of the Kusiya River referred to in the Radcliffe Award; the other involved location of the boundary in a forested area largely within India but traditionally used by Pakistani residents for supplies of bamboo and timber. Although these two boundary segments have been demarcated, occasional border incidents in the areas still are reported. The 7-mile undemarcated segment is near Latitilla, located south of the disputed areas noted above and thus near the Tripura border. Pending demarcation of the boundary, a temporary or working boundary was agreed to in 1959 by the military commanders in charge of Indian and Pakistani border troops; alleged violations of this working boundary have provoked exchanges of gunfire and caused the lodgement of protests.

The entire 175-mile southern section of the Assam boundary probably remains undemarcated. As in the Latitilla area, local military commanders reportedly have agreed upon working boundaries for this section. The lack of progress in demarcation relates to the difficult problem of reaching the border area, which lies deep in the Chittagong Hills, and to central government disinterest in the sparsely distributed, largely tribal population. The terrain consists of low, north-south-aligned hills and valleys, covered with dense tropical forests and tangled bamboo thickets (see Figure 2). For most of its length the border follows tributaries of the Karnaphuli River rather than ridge crests. A meeting between Indian and Pakistani survey personnel in April 1965 stressed the need for agreement in advance upon the way the boundary is to be demarcated on the ground and shown on maps and upon the logistical planning required to permit working parties to reach the border and remain there for the 6-month working season.

More than 300 miles of the 522-mile Tripura sector of the India - Pakistan boundary are undemarcated. No precise information is available concerning the location of the undemarcated sections, but most if not all of the southeastern section and parts of the rest of the boundary are unmarked. In general, the southeastern section of the border crosses rough hill country, whereas the section farther north follows the physical break between the densely populated riverine plain to the west and the increasingly rougher hill country to the east. The most publicized dispute along the Tripura sector concerns the correct identification of a headwater stream of the Fenny, or Feni, River, in the southeast. This dispute involves an area that is about 20 miles in extent.

### III. India - West Pakistan Border

The India - West Pakistan boundary, 1,379 miles in length, is divided into three sectors. The Punjab and Rajasthan sectors of 325 and 644 miles,

C-O-N-F-I-D-E-N-T-I-A-L

C-O-N-F-I-D-E-N-T-I-A-L

respectively, are demarcated, but most of the Gujarat, or Rann of Kutch, sector of 410 miles is undemarcated and in dispute. During the spring of 1965, India and Pakistan engaged in sharp military skirmishes in the northern part of the Rann. Tensions remained high for several weeks before a cease-fire was arranged, local ground rules were established, and terms for an eventual settlement were agreed upon.

A. Punjab and Rajasthan Sectors

Demarcation of the West Pakistan boundary with India has followed a pattern similar to that of the East Pakistan border. Little progress was made during the early years after partition, and only 160 miles -- all in the Punjab sector -- had been marked up to the time of the Nehru-Noon meeting in 1958. Most disputes concerned the Punjab area, where terrain conditions are comparable to those of Bengal: the boundary is drawn across a densely populated plain with numerous rivers and streams (which in places form the boundary) that are subject to flooding and changes in course during the summer rains. In January 1960, the Singh-Sheikh border conference resolved the four outstanding differences in the Punjab sector. Although demarcation of this sector was finished in September 1960, legislation had to be passed by the Indian Parliament before transfer of small bits of border territory "in adverse possession" of each country could take place on 17 January 1961.

The long Rajasthan sector of the boundary apparently presented few problems. Most of it passes through the barren and sparsely populated Thar Desert and consists largely of straight lines connecting points. Demarcation was finished in 1963, and boundary maps were authenticated in September of that year.

B. Gujarat Sector

The Rann of Kutch, which consists of about 8,000 square miles of desolate salt wastes, brackish ponds, and marsh, forms the largely undemarcated Gujarat sector of the India - West Pakistan boundary. The dispute over the boundary in this sector was one of five considered at the January 1960 Singh-Sheikh border conference. Although it could not be settled at the time, the conference called for each country to collect additional data to assist in reaching an agreement at a later meeting. Although additional information apparently was exchanged later in the year, no followup conference was called because the two countries could not agree upon even the basic nature of the problem.

The differences between the Indian and Pakistani versions of the dispute are considerable, as evidenced by the lengthy notes on the Rann that have been exchanged since 1948. Each country usually prefaces its claim by echoing surprise that the other should hold views contrary to its own in light of the "unassailable and overwhelming evidence" that it

C-O-N-F-I-D-E-N-T-I-A-L

C-O-N-F-I-D-E-N-T-I-A-L

cites. Pakistan contends that a longstanding dispute exists over the location of the boundary, cites evidence that residents of the Sind region (Pakistan) to the north have used the meager resources of the northern Rann, and bases its claim on the contention that the Rann is in reality an inland or dead sea. Since, according to this reasoning, the Rann is a sea, Pakistan states that according to international law it should be divided roughly into halves by a straight east-west line along the 24th parallel. Most Indian statements on the Rann refuse even to admit that a dispute exists. India views the old boundary between Sind and Kutch, now administratively Hyderabad and Gujarat, respectively, as a delimited boundary based on maps and records of British India; hence the only action needed is to send survey teams to demarcate an existing boundary. Both countries agree that the western end of the boundary has been demarcated, although they disagree as to the point at which demarcation ends. India claims that a north-south leg of the boundary from 23°58'N (just north of Lakhpat) northward to approximately 24°17'N was demarcated in 1923-24; Pakistan contends that demarcation is valid only to 23°58'N, the southern point of this leg.

The Pakistani contention that the Rann is an inland sea may be historically correct; reportedly, it was navigable at the time of Alexander the Great (325 B.C.). At that time and continuing well into modern times the Rann was fed by several rivers, including the Nara, a major distributary of the Indus; the Luni, which flows southwestward through Rajasthan; and several lesser streams. Gradually, however, these streams began to dry up, partly because of westward shifts in the Indus River that greatly reduced their flow and increased siphoning off of water into irrigation canals. Finally, an earthquake in the early 19th century, by tilting a large area of the northern Rann, blocked southward drainage from the Indus. The Nara and its southernmost extension, the Puran, now are dry, and the Luni is merely seasonal. The drying of its sources has converted the Rann from an active delta into a vast, nearly flat, salt-impregnated alluvial tract characterized by occasional brackish ponds and shallow lakes in low-lying areas. Locally, somewhat higher rocky outcrops (bets) covered with scrub permit some settlement (see Figure 3). Part of the year the Rann is barren and mostly dry with gleaming white expanses of saline deposits, but better drained areas here and there have sufficient vegetation for limited grazing. Depressions in the Rann may be marshy or contain water throughout the year, and in places treacherous bogs covered with saline efflorescences hinder movement. Much of the Rann is inundated during summer and early fall from a combination of monsoonal rains and drainage from seasonal streams. Evaporation, drainage, and seepage usually dry the Rann by October or November. As partial justification for its claim, Pakistan still states that the Rann is believed to be "the bed of an arm of the sea, raised by some natural convulsion above its original level and cut off from the ocean" and that monsoonal winds force sea water into the Rann, but these older theories have been disproved and abandoned by present-day geographers.

C-O-N-F-I-D-E-N-T-I-A-L

C-O-N-F-I-D-E-N-T-I-A-L

Early in 1965 increased Pakistan patrolling in the northern Rann sparked similar measures by India and led to another series of notes between the two governments over the location of the boundary. In April of that year several sharp clashes took place, troop strength was built up by both sides and for several weeks the two combatants teetered nervously on the brink of wider hostilities. Mediation efforts by Prime Minister Wilson of Great Britain finally bore fruit with a cease-fire agreement that came into effect on 1 July 1965. The agreement called for restoration of the status quo as of 1 January 1965 and for bilateral talks to reach a settlement, failing which a tribunal would be convened and empowered to impose a binding border settlement.

#### IV. Other Border-Related Problems

Several border-related problems not directly associated with demarcation either have arisen or have become intensified since 1947.

During the present century Bengali peasants, mainly Muslims, have migrated in significant numbers from overcrowded Bengal to the relatively sparsely populated Brahmaputra Valley of Assam where cultivable land exists and economic opportunities are better. There has been a smaller scale migration to Tripura. Although migration continued after partition, it did not become a major issue until 1961 when India systematically began to evict Muslims who, according to India, had illegally entered and settled in Indian territory after partition. Indian actions appear to result from fears of too large a Muslim minority in Assam and Tripura; fewer opportunities for settlement, particularly in Tripura; the complex internal political situation in Assam; and increased Indian security consciousness in Assam -- particularly after the 1962 Sino-Indian border war and the appearance of growing Sino-Pakistani political ties. The eviction of many Muslims, some of whom claimed to have settled in India prior to partition, evoked protests and heightened tensions. The evictions also contributed to increased pressure on the sizable Hindu community in East Pakistan. The Hindus have been emigrating since 1947, but they still numbered about 18 percent of the East Pakistan population in 1961. The heightened tensions of recent years, however, greatly spurred Hindu emigration, particularly after communal violence erupted in January 1964. Undoubtedly, both nations would welcome an agreement providing mutual safeguards for their respective minorities; neither nation, however, could guarantee such an agreement because communal feelings, including those of local governmental officials, are so deep seated that enforcement would be extremely difficult if not impossible.

Another border-related problem is the smuggling of rice from East Pakistan to India, where market prices are considerably higher. To counteract smuggling, which is estimated to siphon off 5 to 10 percent of the rice crop, East Pakistan in October 1965 ordered all farmers living within 5 miles of the border to sell to the government all rice

C-O-N-F-I-D-E-N-T-I-A-L

C-O-N-F-I-D-E-N-T-I-A-L

in excess of family needs and seed requirements. For the rest of East Pakistan, the government ordered owners of farms larger than 5 acres to sell specified amounts of rice to the government. The latter requirement presumably will permit the central government to purchase the relatively small rice surplus that could be disposed of through smuggling rings. To implement government regulations in the border areas requires tight controls and presumably augmented security forces, and tighter antismuggling measures increase the possibility of creating new border incidents. The sinuous, stream-laced character of much of the frontier makes enforcement of controls difficult.

The Indo-Mongoloid hill people inhabiting the rugged and isolated uplands between East Pakistan and Burma have been politically restive for a number of years. Many of these people have a history of turbulence and resistance to central control. The most serious outbreak that has resulted from local dissidence is the Naga revolt that for the past 10 years has tied down a sizable number of Indian troops and paramilitary police. The creation of the state of Nagaland in 1963 and a general cease-fire in 1964 helped pacify but did not entirely eliminate the dissident elements. More recently the Mizos, who inhabit the wild tangle of mountains between Assam and the Chittagong Hills, also have advocated independence. The focal point for independence aspirations has been the Mizo National Front. On 1 March 1966, Mizo dissidents attacked government administrative posts and disrupted communications. Indian forces moved into the area, and within a few days the revolt apparently had been quelled. The strength of the dissidents, however, together with the logistical problems facing Indian troops, may result in a renewal of insurgent activity during the 1966 rainy season.

Although the recent Mizo uprising and the subsequent flow of Mizo refugees into East Pakistan might have been expected to be exploited politically by India and Pakistan, both nations initially showed unusual restraint in their public pronouncements concerning the revolt. The so-called Tashkent spirit of conciliation, however, is gradually giving way to more typical patterns of India - Pakistan political behavior with its irritations and frictions. The Mizo problem is likely to remain, since there seems little possibility that Mizo demands will be granted, and given the undemarcated and physically inaccessible nature of the

C-O-N-F-I-D-E-N-T-I-A-L

C-O-N-F-I-D-E-N-T-I-A-L

border and Pakistani involvement with dissident groups, opportunity for India to reopen the issue is ample.

V. Prospects for Border Settlement

The short-lived India - Pakistan border war of September 1965 postponed implementation of several measures agreed upon during the summer of 1965, which were designed to settle outstanding border disputes. In the east, survey teams were to have spent the fall and winter of 1965-66 marking the boundaries in the Berubari area preparatory to territorial division of the area and legal transfer.\* In the west, diplomatic measures had been agreed upon that presumably would have ended the conflict over the Rann of Kutch boundary. Potentially troublesome sections of the Assam and Tripura sectors of the India - East Pakistan boundary are still undemarcated, and other border issues remain to be resolved. The gradual easing of tensions since October 1965 hopefully could cause the resumption of activity leading toward boundary demarcation and settlement of disputes, although past history does not portend great speed in marking the boundary. Pakistani officials, particularly those in East Pakistan, seem to be aware that boundary demarcation is in their best interest, but the larger Indian - Pakistani political stakes appear at present to dictate that no boundary settlement be concluded until the Kashmir question is brought to the negotiating table. An extended period of good relations between India and Pakistan and progress in solving their major differences will be necessary before all boundaries are demarcated and border irritants reduced.

---

\* According to a very recent report, joint surveying teams from India and Pakistan were to begin work in the Berubari area in June 1966.

C-O-N-F-I-D-E-N-T-I-A-L

Approved For Release 2002/01/04 : CIA-RDP84-00825R000100800001-7

Demarcation Status of India - Pakistan Boundaries  
May 1966

Boundary	Sector	Length (Miles) a/	
		Demarcated	Undemarcated
East Pakistan	West Bengal	1,232 b/	117
	Berubari	0	25 c/
	Karatoya - Mahananda	0	34 d/
	Hilli	0	26 e/
	Bangaon - Satkhira	0	32
	Assam	438	182
	Latitilla	0	7 f/
	Chittagong Hills	0	175
	Tripura	202	320
		<u>1,872</u>	<u>619</u>
			<u>2,491</u>
West Pakistan	Punjab	325	0
	Rajasthan	644	0
	Gujarat	93 h/	317
		<u>1,062</u>	<u>317</u>
Total		<u>2,934</u>	<u>936</u>

a. Boundary lengths given by semiofficial sources vary, sometimes widely. The totals here are composites, supplemented by measurements from maps where differences are great.

b. Includes 97 miles of Ichamati River where thalweg is recognized as boundary and 78 miles of Ganges River that is resurveyed yearly after summer monsoon.

c. Another source gives 8 miles.

d. Another source gives 26 miles.

e. Other sources give 2 to 6 miles.

f. Another source gives 4 miles.

g. Other sources give 528 and 550 miles.

h. Using the Pakistani claim, the demarcated sector would be reduced to 70 miles.

i. Sources vary from 285 miles to over 500. The figure 410 is derived by measurement from maps at scale of 1:250,000.

C-O-N-F-I-D-E-N-T-I-A-L

C-O-N-F-I-D-E-N-T-I-A-L





Figure 1. Flooded countryside of the Ganges Delta. Much of the West Bengal sector of the India - East Pakistan border usually is flooded for several months of each year.

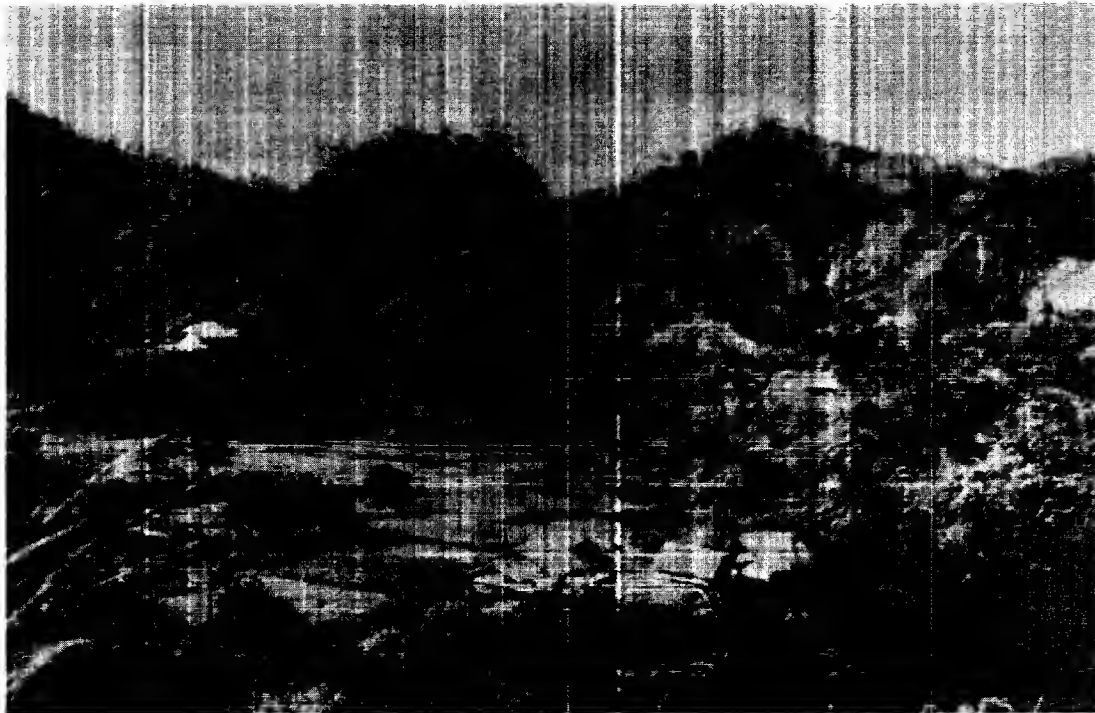


Figure 2. Low but steep-sided slopes of the Chittagong Hills. This type of terrain is characteristic of the southern Assam and the Tripura sectors of the India - East Pakistan border. The combination of rough terrain, tangled vegetation, and lack of roads hampers the work of border survey teams.

C-O-N-F-I-D-E-N-T-I-A-L

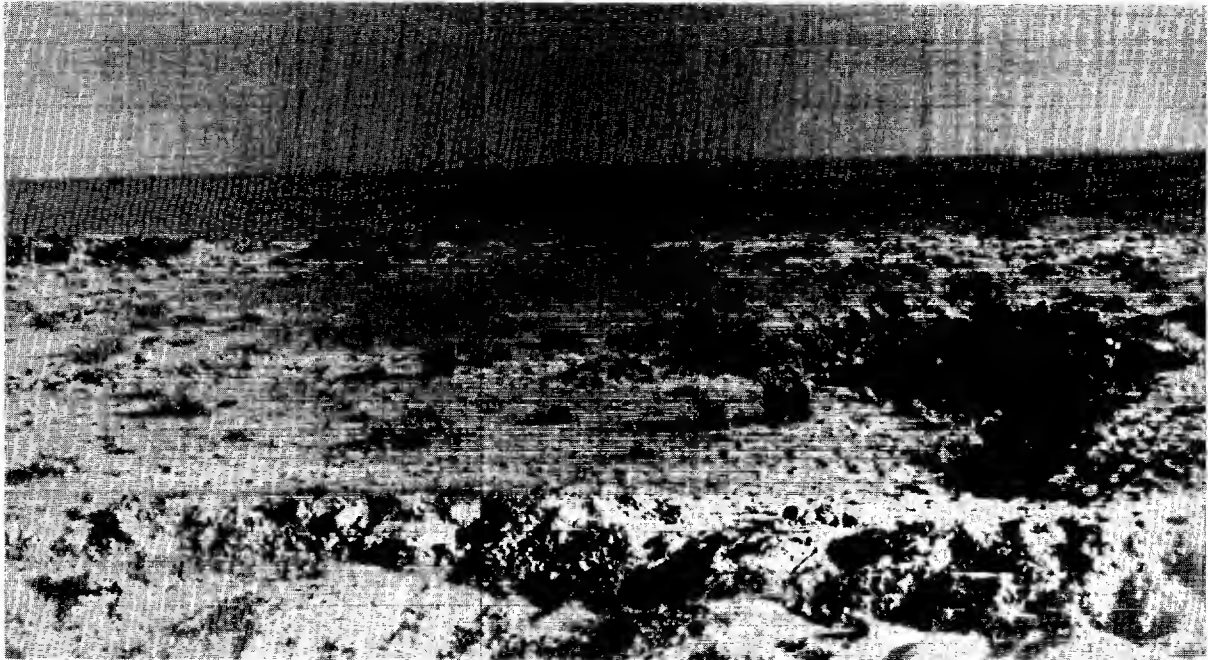



Figure 3. Rocky, slightly higher land known as bets, which in places interrupts the flat salt wastes of the Rann of Kutch. This photo was taken in late April when the surface in most areas is still hard, dry, and usable by wheeled vehicles.

C-O-N-F-I-D-E-N-T-I-A-L

## INDIA - PAKISTAN BORDERS

## INTERNATIONAL BOUNDARIES



 Demarcated  
 Undemarcated  
 Disputed  
 Surveyed yearly

### INTERNAL ADMINISTRATIVE BOUNDARIES

Division or state \_\_\_\_\_  
 District, selected \_\_\_\_\_

## POPULATED PLACES

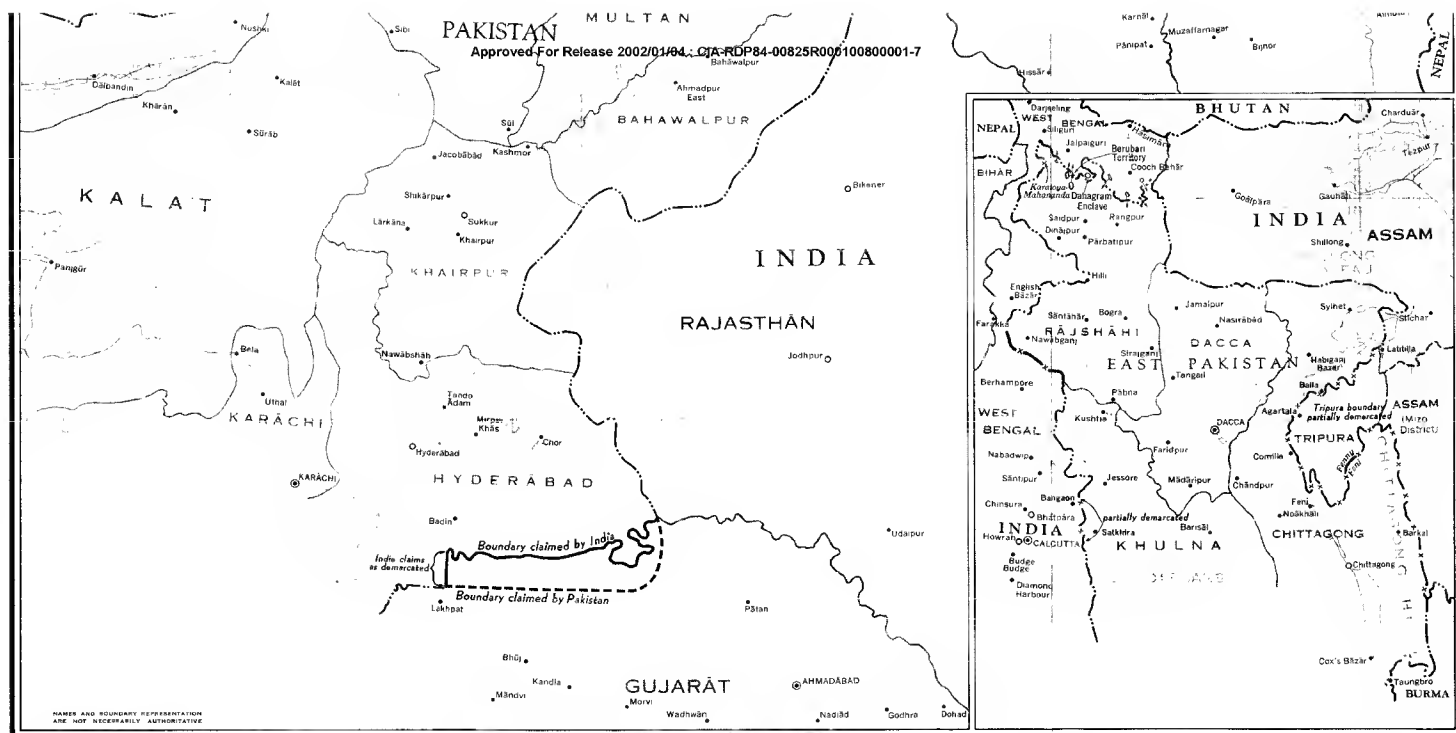
- ③ Over 500,000
- 50,000 - 500,000
- Under 50,000

 Railroad, broad gauge  
 Railroad, meter or narrow gauge  
 Road  
 Trail



PAKISTAN MULATAN

Approved For Release 2002/01/04 : CIA-RDP84-00825R000100080001-7



Approved For Release 2002/01/04 : CIA-RDP84-00825R000100800001-7

**CONFIDENTIAL**

**CONFIDENTIAL**

Approved For Release 2002/01/04 : CIA-RDP84-00825R000100800001-7

CONFIDENTIAL

Approved For Release 2002/01/04 : CIA-RDP84-00825R000100800001-7

PER WILL CHECK CLASSIFICATION TOP AND BOTTOM			
UNCLASSIFIED		CONFIDENTIAL	
CENTRAL INTELLIGENCE AGENCY OFFICIAL ROUTING SLIP			
TO	NAME AND ADDRESS	DATE	INITIALS
1			
2	DIAAP 2F3 Room 10935 Pentagon		
3			
4			
5			
6			
ACTION		DIRECT REPLY	PREPARE REPLY
APPROVAL		DISPATCH	RECOMMENDATION
COMMENT		FILE	RETURN
CONCURRENCE		INFORMATION	SIGNATURE
Remarks:			
Sent at the suggestion of			
FOLD HERE TO RETURN TO SENDER			
FROM: NAME, ADDRESS AND PHONE NO.			DATE

Approved For Release 2002/01/04 : CIA-RDP84-00825R000100800001-7



ADMINISTRATIVE - INTERNAL USE ONLY

GR 66-3

Project No. 61-2272

Requester Self-init [redacted] STATINTL  
 Drafting [redacted] HRW  
 Date [redacted] 11 May 66  
 [redacted] 11 May 66  
 [redacted] 11 May  
 [redacted] RTA

Date [redacted]

25 March

CONF.

Editor EfB 23 May Instructions for Final Proof  
 [redacted] 3 June For Photolith  
 [redacted] 10 July For Galilith  
 [redacted] 10 July For Ditto  
 [redacted] 10 July On Bond with [redacted] carbon  
 [redacted] 10 July Other  
 [redacted] 16 June

Instructions for Final Proof

For Photolith

For Galilith

For Ditto

On Bond with [redacted] carbon

Other

Other [redacted]

Draft is being coordinated with OCI and with Office of Geographer, State.

This will be an Intelligence Report

STATINTL

ADMINISTRATIVE - INTERNAL USE ONLY

2F3 Room 10935  
 PENTAGON

-plus 11-5767

29Apr66

6May66

11 May

12May

13May

23May

27 May  
8 June

17Jun66

24 Jun 66

Br.Ch. review completed; ret. to [redacted] for approval for release; 2002/01/04: CIA-RDP84-00825R000100800001-7  
for Div.Ch. review next week.

Retyping of draft almost complete; to be submitted for Div.Ch. review next week.

To [redacted] for review STATINTL

To Editing;

In Active Editing

Edited draft to analyst for post-ed. review.

*Analyst ret. to editing  
Left in typing; to go to PSD  
next week. 15 pages of text*

PSD Job No. for Text: 668-43-66

No. of Copies: 250

CIA/BI CR-66-3

Text to PSD

*To be disseminated 27 June*  
Approved For Release 2002/01/04: CIA-RDP84-00825R000100800001-7

*may*  
Map 52751 should be in drafting by now.

STATINTL

Map in drafting in CD

*Map in checking  
map ready for PSD*

*1 map  
3 photos  
to go to PSD  
with text*

Gave [redacted] this Job No. for text -- the map to go out at once.  
CD Job No. 667-1168

STATINTL

29Oct65

PIM written; research began

10Nov65

Approved For Release 2002/01/04 : CIA-RDP84-00825R000100800001-7

*See: App. Mar 66*  
Request for 2-panel GM map to CD.

2Dec65

Some drafting <sup>of text</sup> completed on India-E.Pakis. border. Map requirements discussed and request forwarded, but compiler assigned to <sup>Text</sup> Branch. <sup>Text</sup> expects that 1st conferences re guidelines to be held early Dec.

Compiler assigned elsewhere.

Map 52751

STATINTL

STATINTL

25Jan66

Text is partially drafted.

The reassignment of the Cartographer working on the above has been a delaying factor.

STATINTL

<sup>Text</sup> thinks conference with CD will will be sometime in Feb., with possibility of publication of GM in Mar.

24Feb66

<sup>Text</sup> research in progress.

No conference with CD yet and nothing being done in CD since <sup>Text</sup> transferred out of <sup>Text</sup> branch; this has created complication.

STATINTL

STATINTL

STATINTL

23Mar66

Research completed; analyst's draft of text will be finished by end of this week. Cartographic requirements ready for levying on Cartography. Report planned as "Poor Man's GM." Analyst's draft in Br.Ch.review

Ready to levy req. on CD. (See 10Nov)

STATINTL

30Mar66

STATINTL

18Apr66

Approved For Release 2002/01/04 : CIA-RDP84-00825R000100800001-7

Req.levied on CD anew.

In compilation <sup>Text</sup> to sheet before being sent to Drafting.

61.2272

India-Pakistan Borders

Self-Init.

GM GB with GM dissem.

# PRINTING SERVICES REQUISITION

Approved For Release 2002/01/04 : CIA-RDP84-00825R000100800001-7

IF THE WORK ORDERED HEREWITH IS UNCLASSIFIED, IS THERE ANY REASON WHY IT CANNOT BE PRINTED OUTSIDE THE AGENCY BY UN-CLEARED PERSONNEL? ☐ YES ☐ NO IF YES, EXPLAIN UNDER SPECIAL INSTRUCTIONS.

CLASSIFICATION  
CONFIDENTIAL

JOB NO.  
668-43-66

DATE JOB REQUIRED  
17 June 1966

SIGNATURE OF AUTHORIZED OFFICIAL

ORDERED BY [REDACTED]	PHONE EXTENSION [REDACTED]	SCHEDULED DELIVERY DATE(S) 25X1A	COST AUTHORITY AVAILABLE
ORDERING OFFICE, DIVISION, BRANCH PD/BI 25X1A		ESTIMATED COST	CHARGE COST CENTER NO. 6258-3200
ROOM NO. - BUILDING 1011 Magazine		SIGNATURE J. T. G.	

SERVICE REQUIRED	SIZE	NO. OF ORIG.	COPIES REQUIRED ON EACH	TOTAL NO. OF COPIES	PRINT	X	BIND	X	DISPOSITION OF STENCILS, NEGATIVES PLATES, COPY, ETC.
FILM PROCESSING			X		ONE SIDE		ASSEMBLED		
MICROFILM					TWO SIDES		UNASSEMBLED		RETURN
MOTION PICTURE					HEAD TO HEAD		FASTENED		RETAIN
OZALID					TUMBLEHEAD		PUNCHED		DESTROY
OZAPHANE					PAPER		PADDED		ESTIMATED MONTHLY USE
PHOTOGRAPHY			NEG-ATIVES PRINTS		KIND	COLOR	ADDRESSED		CLASSIFICATION CONFIDENTIAL
PHOTOGRAPHY (Color)			NEG-ATIVES PRINTS		INK		PERFORATED		
PHOTOSTAT			NEG-ATIVES PRINTS		COLOR	NUMBER	RERUN DATA	x	
XEROX			X		FOR MAP USE ONLY				
COMPOSING					IMAGE SIZE	X	TOP		BOTTOM
DITTO					REDUCE AS TO AC		LEFT		RIGHT
MIMEOGRAPH					SAME				
OFFSET	s/s	see memo			OTHER				
LETTERPRESS				250	PLATE NO.	COLOR	NUMBER	SCREEN NO.	
BINDING									

## SPECIAL INSTRUCTIONS

Geographic Report CIA/BI GR 66-3

See attached memo for instructions.

Send a copy to this office prior to dissemination. After approval, make dissemination per standard list for the GR Series.

*24 June 66*  
*20 to the dissemination*  
*27 June*

DELIVERY TICKET	JOB NO. 668-43-66 25X1A	DELIVERY TICKET	JOB NO.	DELIVERY TICKET	JOB NO.
NAME [REDACTED]		NAME		NAME	
ROOM NO. & BLDG. 1011 Magazine	QUANTITY adv. copy	ROOM NO. & BLDG.	QUANTITY	ROOM NO. & BLDG.	QUANTITY

Approved For Release 2002/01/04 : CIA-RDP84-00825R000100800001-7

17 June 66

STATINTL

CIA/BI GR 66-3 (for standard distribution)

Text                      GD Job No. 668-43  
    19 plates  
    3 photos attached  
    to pp 13-15

To be correlated with GD Job No. 667-1168  
(Map 52751, which is to be inserted  
following page 15 of text).

STATINTL

TRANSMITTAL SLIP		
TO	<i>16 June</i> (Date)	
BUI		ROOM NO.
REMARKS:		
<i>GR 66 - 3</i> <i>19 plates</i> <i>3 photos attached</i> <i>to pp. 13-15.</i>		
FROM:	<i>ETB</i> <i>(initials)</i>	
BUILDING	ROOM NO.	EXTENSION
FORM NO. 36-8 SEP 1946		

16-65208-1 GPO

*667-1168*

**SECRET**

GEOGRAPHY DIVISION REQUEST FOR GRAPHICS

TO: CHIEF, CARTOGRAPHY DIVISION

(2) *Week 7 21 Mar 66*  
(1) 10 November 1965  
Date

Check whether SENSITIVE

Yes

X

No

Sanitized Title if above is Yes:

Actual Title: The India-Pakistan Borders

Map No. 52751

Classification: CONFIDENTIAL or Control: None

Date Graphics Required: lower 30 December 1965 Number of Copies: Standard for GM

GD Project No.: 61.2272 GD's Requester: Self-initiated

GD Analyst and Branch: [REDACTED] GD/F Phone No.: [REDACTED] 25X1A

Remarks: Two-panel GM map to include both West and East Pakistan borders with India. Insets are envisaged to show general location and possibly land use and population distribution.

Date Approved: 10 November 1965

[REDACTED]  
3870/9/GD/BI

Instructions: To be made up in triplicate: Two copies to CD/BI, one of which will be returned to OCh/GD with map number. The third copy to be held in OCh/GD until the second is returned; the third copy with map number added to be sent to the GD Branch requesting graphics.

25X1A

GROUP I  
Excluded from automatic downgrading and declassification

**SECRET**

**CONFIDENTIAL**

REQUEST FOR PROJECT APPROVAL		
TO :	DIRECTOR OF BASIC INTELLIGENCE	DATE
Through	EXECUTIVE ASSISTANT, OBI	28 October 1965
FROM :	CHIEF, GEOGRAPHY DIVISION, <del>OB</del> OBI	
SUBJECT:	REQUEST FOR APPROVAL OF PROJECT NUMBER 61.2272	
1. SUBJECT OF PROPOSED PROJECT		
The India-Pakistan Borders		
2. STATEMENT OF PROBLEM To prepare an Intelligence Memorandum treating of the physical and cultural characteristics of the India-Pakistan border areas in the context of the past and present political situation, including the relationship with the current Kashmir dispute. Historical material will be incorporated concerning the original delimitation of the borders, progress of demarcation, and recent boundary disputes.		
3. NAME OF REQUESTER	4. RESPONSIBLE D/GG ANALYST	5. BRANCH
Self-initiated	[REDACTED]	GD/F
6. COORDINATION REQUESTED FROM (Specify)		
25X1A		
A. OTHER <del>OBI</del> DIVISIONS	Cartography	
B. OTHER CIA COMPONENTS	OCI, ONE	
C. OUTSIDE CIA	Office of the Geographer, Department of State	
7. ESTIMATED MAN-HOURS <del>XXXXX</del>	8. TARGET DATE FOR ISSUANCE	
120	December 1965	
9. TYPE OF <del>XXXX</del> PUBLICATION		
GM		
10. RECOMMENDATIONS FOR DISTRIBUTION OF FINISHED REPORT		
Standard distribution for GM		
11. REMARKS:		
25X1A		
25X1A		
APPROVED: [REDACTED]		
DATE 29 Oct 65		
Director of Basic Intelligence		
DATE		
ASSISTANT DIRECTOR, ORR		
<div style="border: 1px solid black; padding: 5px; display: inline-block;">           GROUP 1            Excluded from automatic            downgrading and            declassification         </div>		

**CONFIDENTIAL**



**CONFIDENTIAL**

REQUEST FOR PROJECT APPROVAL

TO :	DIRECTOR OF BASIC INTELLIGENCE	DATE
Through	EXECUTIVE ASSISTANT, OBI	23 October 1965
FROM :	CHIEF, GEOGRAPHY DIVISION, <del>ORR</del> OBI	
SUBJECT:	REQUEST FOR APPROVAL OF PROJECT NUMBER <b>61.2272</b>	

1. SUBJECT OF PROPOSED PROJECT

**The India-Pakistan Borders**

2. STATEMENT OF PROBLEM **To prepare an Intelligence Memorandum treating of the physical and cultural characteristics of the India-Pakistan border areas in the context of the past and present political situation, including the relationship with the current Kashmir dispute. Historical material will be incorporated concerning the original delimitation of the borders, progress of demarcation, and recent boundary disputes.**

3. NAME OF REQUESTER

**Self-initiated**

4. RESPONSIBLE D/GG ANALYST

5. BRANCH

**ON/F**

6. COORDINATION REQUESTED FROM (Specify)

A. OTHER ~~OBI~~ DIVISIONS

**Cartography**

**25X1A**

B. OTHER CIA COMPONENTS

**OBI, ONE**

C. OUTSIDE CIA

**Office of the Geographer, Department of State**

7. ESTIMATED MAN-HOURS ~~XXXXXX~~

**120**

8. TARGET DATE FOR ISSUANCE

**December 1965**

9. TYPE OF ~~XXXX~~ PUBLICATION

**ON**

10. RECOMMENDATIONS FOR DISTRIBUTION OF FINISHED REPORT

**Standard distribution for ON**

11. REMARKS:

**25X1A**

APPROVED:

DATE

Director of Basic Intelligence

DATE

ASSISTANT DIRECTOR, ORR

**CONFIDENTIAL**

GROUP 1  
Excluded from automatic  
downgrading and  
declassification

**CONFIDENTIAL***Draft*

## REQUEST FOR PROJECT APPROVAL

TO :	DIRECTOR OF BASIC INTELLIGENCE	DATE	28 October 1965
THROUGH:	EXECUTIVE ASSISTANT, OBI		
FROM :	CHIEF, GEOGRAPHY DIVISION, <del>ORR</del> OBI		
SUBJECT:	REQUEST FOR APPROVAL OF PROJECT NUMBER 61.2272		
1. SUBJECT OF PROPOSED PROJECT The India-Pakistan Borders			
2. STATEMENT OF PROBLEM To prepare an Intelligence Memorandum treating of the physical and cultural characteristics of the India-Pakistan border areas in the context of the past and present political situation, including the relationship with the current Kashmir dispute. Historical material will be incorporated concerning the original delimitation of the borders, progress of demarcation, and recent boundary disputes.			
3. NAME OF REQUESTER Self-initiated		4. RESPONSIBLE <del>XXXX</del> ANALYST [REDACTED]	5. BRANCH GD/F
6. COORDINATION REQUESTED FROM (Specify)			
25X1A			
A. OTHER <del>OBI</del> DIVISIONS Cartography			
B. OTHER CIA COMPONENTS OCI, ONE			
C. OUTSIDE CIA Office of the Geographer, State			
7. ESTIMATED MAN-HOURS <del>XXXXXX</del> 120		8. TARGET DATE FOR ISSUANCE December 1965	
9. TYPE OF <del>XXXX</del> PUBLICATION GM			
10. RECOMMENDATIONS FOR DISTRIBUTION OF FINISHED REPORT Standard GM distribution			
11. REMARKS:			
APPROVED: _____			
_____ Director of Basic Intelligence			
_____ Assistant Director, ORR			
DATE _____			

GROUP 1  
Excluded from automatic  
downgrading and  
declassification**CONFIDENTIAL**

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

OK  
[Signature]

REQUEST FOR PROJECT APPROVAL		
TO :	DIRECTOR OF BASIC INTELLIGENCE	DATE
Through:	EXECUTIVE ASSISTANT	28 OCT 1965
FROM :	CHIEF, GEOGRAPHY DIVISION, ORR	
SUBJECT:	REQUEST FOR APPROVAL OF PROJECT NUMBER 61.2272	
1. SUBJECT OF PROPOSED PROJECT		
The India-Pakistan Borders		
2. STATEMENT OF PROBLEM to prepare an Intelligence Memorandum treating the physical and cultural characteristics of the India-Pakistan border areas in the context of the past and present political situation, including the relationship with the current Kashmir dispute. Historical material will be incorporated concerning the original delimitation of the borders, progress of demarcation, and recent boundary disputes.		
3. NAME OF REQUESTER	4. RESPONSIBLE D/GG ANALYST	5. BRANCH
Self-initiated	[Redacted]	GD/F
6. COORDINATION REQUESTED FROM (Specify)		
25X1A		
A. OTHER GRA DIVISIONS Cartography		
B. OTHER CIA COMPONENTS OCI, ONE		
C. OUTSIDE CIA Office of the Geographer, State		
7. ESTIMATED MAN-HOURS IN D/GG	8. TARGET DATE FOR ISSUANCE	
120	December 1965	
9. TYPE OF D/GG PUBLICATION		
GM		
10. RECOMMENDATIONS FOR DISTRIBUTION OF FINISHED REPORT		
Standard GM distribution		
11. REMARKS:		
APPROVED: _____		
_____ CHIEF, GEOGRAPHIC RESEARCH	DATE _____	
_____ ASSISTANT DIRECTOR, ORR	DATE _____	